



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

afford to leave it unread. The volume belongs in "The Citizen's Library," edited by Professor R. T. Ely.

CARL KELSEY.

University of Pennsylvania.

Willis, Henry Parker. *Our Philippine Problem.* Pp. xiii, 479. Price, \$1.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1905.

It needs to be stated at the beginning that this book is frankly critical of our Philippine policy, and particularly of the administration thereof. One who holds the views that the author evidently entertains in regard to "imperialism" could hardly write otherwise. Admitting that the political ethics of imperialism is an open question we can only ask our author to avoid censoriousness. Opinion will surely be divided as to whether he has succeeded in this or not, but since the division will probably traverse political lines of cleavage, we may accept it as considerably more than a brief of the attorney for the prosecution. So much can be stated at the beginning. Further perusal and analysis of the book will convince many readers, perhaps unwillingly too, that the criticisms and charges it contains are not only serious and grave in the extreme, but that their authenticity seems unquestionable. Let us particularize.

"It is obvious," he says, "that an absolute government, such as exists to-day in the Philippines, cannot lay claim to merit as the representative of popular will, and must rest for its justification (so far as any is possible) upon results. It must stand as a despotism, and those who believe in despotism anywhere applied can warrant such belief only on the ground that it is benevolent." The assertion that it is an absolute government, a despotism, he supports by the following evidence:

"The powers now actually in the hands of the civil governor are—1. All executive authority; 2. Leadership of the 'legislative' body and power to prescribe its rules and mode of operation, including the practical power to initiate all legislation; 3. Appointment of all officers of the government outside of the civil service, including judges of the first instance; 4. Practical direction of the military forces in their operation and distribution."

The so-called "legislative body" or commission acts as no check to the executive, as it is completely subservient thereto. "It should be understood that the islands are not now under civil, but under military, rule," the ruler being required to report regularly to the Secretary of War, and in no other way is information obtainable. This is certainly a condition of despotism; is it justified by the results?

Professor Willis answers, no; but he is careful to state that the present officials are not to be held responsible for a situation necessarily resulting from our military occupation of the islands. Among the evidences that our despotism is not benevolent in its results we may take time to notice the following:

First, the legal and judicial system rests upon three main supports: (a) Spanish law; (b) American procedure; (c) legislation by the commission.

We have an English-speaking governing class struggling with a legal system predominantly Spanish, in an attempt to administer justice to a population speaking a score of dialects. Native judges must necessarily be retained in courts of the first instance. This involves the elimination of trial by jury. Moreover, limitations have been thrown about the writ of *habeas corpus*. As a result, "it is a fact that there are now men confined in prisons throughout the archipelago, arrested without warrant and entirely ignorant why they have been detained." "Under Spanish law, officers who detained men in prison more than twenty-four hours without presenting them before a suitable judicial officer and showing cause for their arrest were *ipso facto* guilty of the severely penalized crime of illegal detention."

The second point in the indictment of the legal and judicial system is the servility of the judiciary to the commission. "The truth is," he says, "that in all criminal cases the judiciary has cooperated so closely with the commission as to be practically nothing more than a mere tool in the hands of that body." Appointed as they are, "it would require unusual strength of character for judges to resist the pressure to which they are likely to be subjected. They cannot help recognizing the circumstances under which they were selected, the fact that they receive larger salaries than they could probably get elsewhere, and that certain things are expected of them." "A judiciary, pliant, serviceable, bowing the knee to the executive, has been built up."

Second, the control of public opinion in the Philippines is something to which Americans are not accustomed at home. "It seems that the organs of control are so effective and the forces making for subordination and silence so strong, that they are irresistible." The sources of official information are closed to the public, the aid of the sedition act is invoked to suppress freedom of speech, teachers are cautioned "to exercise such care as the situation demands," "the pulpit and the stage have been subjected either to unofficial or official surveillance," and finally, notwithstanding official assurances that "there is in the islands to-day freedom of speech, of the press, of assemblage and of petition," specific evidence to the contrary is furnished.

This in itself is not so iniquitous as it might seem, unless it has the result of creating distrust and disaffection among the natives. Unhappily, more or less caution, secrecy, surveillance and general inhibition of news relating to the public must be characteristic of the government of a dependency, and the question is not so much in any case whether it exists, as whether it is excessive. Professor Willis leaves no doubt that it does exist. Moreover, the evidence he gives as to its being excessive is sufficient to silence criticism from disinterested sources not on the ground. One could only say that it is possible he does not take into full account the natural difficulties of the situation.

Many other topics are taken up and treated with considerable detail, such as local government, the constabulary, political parties, the church problem, American education in the Philippines, social conditions, economic legislation, exploitation of the Philippines, rural and agricultural conditions, etc. In style it is unusually readable and entertaining.

It is a book which invites investigation, and no doubt it will get it; that too, probably, in no gentle mood at times. Nevertheless, allowing for legitimate differences of opinion upon the fundamental subject of imperialism, the principal questions it raises all the way through are merely questions of *degree*. Hence the effect should be simply that of sane, healthful criticism, whatever asperities it may raise at first. When an author states himself so frankly he should arouse no resentment from those who are equally above board in their own conduct, even if his strictures are severe.

J. E. CONNER.

Washington, D. C.